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America's Greatest Peril

The Bolsheviki
and The Mooney Case

[F. R. Welsh]



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The Bolsheviki and The Mooney Case

Undoubtedly the greatest peril from which our country suffers today is that of bolshevism. It is not that the great majority of the people are not strongly opposed to bolshevism and anarchy, but that they are not thoroughly aroused to the great progress that has been made by anarchists, Industrial Workers of the World, socialists, Townleyites and syndicalists and the radicalism of an inner circle in the American Federation of Labor; nor do they appreciate the encouragement that has been given to bolshevism by politicians in high places in our government and by labor politicians of wide influence; nor do they appreciate the millions of dollars that have been spent by the bolsheviki and their friends upon propaganda, the interconnection of the groups in different countries, the clever subtlety of their methods and the way they have misled hundreds of thousands of people into believing that some of the greatest criminals in all history were persecuted martyrs.

Another point that is worthy of note is that leaders in these movements receive millions of dollars and give no accurate account of what is done with the money, so that propaganda movements have become international harvests on a huge scale whose size is proportioned to the mendacity of the reapers.

One of the most astonishing things is the shameless effrontery with which disloyalty has been fostered and disloyalists shielded and rewarded by some of the very officials whose patriotic duty it was to do exactly the reverse. In this connection a brief study of the Mooney case is of much interest.

Mooney was a professional anarchist. There was no concealment about this. He helped to found and to support two anarchist papers—first The Revolt and afterwards The Blast. One of the contributors to the former paper in 1912 was Lenin at the head of the Russian bolsheviki, while Trotzky was also a friend of Mooney's and visited him in prison before he went to Russia. It is worthy of note too that Karl Liebknecht, the present leader of the German bolsheviki, was a friend of Mooney's and it was at his instance, when he was in San Francisco in 1911, that the Mooney group founded a school to teach anarchy to children called "The Young Socialist" in which Mrs. Mooney (then Mrs. Hermann) was a teacher.

The Revolt was an extra radical anarchist paper, while The Blast was gotten up to preach anarchy and work against preparedness in a way to delight the hearts of every traitor and pro-German. Among contributors to these papers were the anarchists William D. Haywood and Eugene V. Debs. Alexander Berkman was not only a contributor but was editor of The Blast. Mooney himself was a delegate to the Socialists Convention at Stockholm in 1910 and in 1907 traveled all over Europe, visiting socialists in different countries. He toured the country on the "red special" with Eugene V. Debs and, though he had never studied law, ran for superior court judge and sheriff on the socialist ticket. He was a member of the Moulders' Union of the American Federation of Labor, of the Industrial Workers of the World, of the Syndicalist League, of a German anarchist society connected with the Industrial Workers of the World, of the International Workers Defense League, founded by Industrial Workers of the World and reds from other organizations, and of other red societies. He preached revolution and the overthrow of our government and our civil and religious institutions. He was constantly preaching anarchy to

his friends and appealing to the reds and his favorite signature was "Yours for the revolution."

We find him working in support of the McNamara murderers, both before and after they confessed, Caplan and Schmidt, co-murderers with the McNamaras, Ford and Suhr who murdered a district attorney and a deputy sheriff, Joe Hillstrom, an I. W. W., who committed the brutal murder of a store-keeper and his son, and other criminals. His associates were anarchists and reds in the American Federation of Labor, the I. W. W. and other organizations. He was one of the founders of the International Workers Defense League which was gotten up for the purpose of helping anarchists to commit crime with impunity. We also find him mysteriously influential with politicians in high places. He was looked at askance by the better labor element in and outside of unions.

Among the anarchists and disloyalists with whom he associated were Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, William D. Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Mother Jones, Fremont Older, Anton Johannsen, Edward D. Nolan, J. Edward Morgan, Robert Minor, N. Lenine, Leon Trotzky, Karl Liebknecht and a host of others, including a number who are now in jail for murder or for disloyal offences against the United States.

He wrote letters threatening the assassination of Governor Spry of Utah if he did not pardon the murderer Joe Hillstrom and Governor Johnson of California if he did not pardon the murderers Ford and Suhr. He and his fellow anarchists were especially down on Chambers of Commerce because they represented patriotic sentiment and on judges, district attorneys, soldiers, sailors and police because they enforced the law, as well as on priests and clergymen because they preach morality. They sneered at respectability.

These anarchists, socialists and I. W. Ws. have spent millions for propaganda, have founded Ferrer schools where anarchy and disloyalty are taught and have disciples in all the principal cities of this country, as well as in many cities of Europe. In a recent raid made by the federal authorities, on evidence brought to light by District Attorney Fickert of San Francisco, there was found a large quantity of bombs, phosphorus to be used by the I. W. W. for destroying crops and barns and starting forest fires and anthrax germs for infecting and killing cattle. Two of the I. W. W. arrested confessed to their crimes and said that their paymasters were Thomas J. Mooney and Anton Johannsen.

Johannsen, an I. W. W., has been touring the country in support of Mooney, lecturing to such dupes among the labor unions and the reds as he can find and saying that the Mooney case is a frame up on the part of the wicked capitalists and incidentally getting these dupes to subscribe to the Mooney defense fund, which subscriptions go into the pockets of these anarchist agitators who give a vague account of what they do with part of them, but never any full and explicit statement of all their receipts. It is a profitable business for the agitators. Johannsen, a well known anarchist and I. W. W., was indicted with Ryan in Indianapolis for transporting dynamite unlawfully. He is under indictment in the federal courts for complicity in the dynamiting of the Llewelyn Iron Works and the Los Angeles Times Building with the McNamaras, is a friend of Caplan and Schmidt now serving a life sentence for dynamiting the Times Building and who stayed at his house at the time they were purchasing dynamite, and was a delegate from the I. W. W. to attend the trial of the criminal and disloyalist William D. Haywood, the I. W. W. leader. In spite of protests by federal officials and while attending the trial of Haywood as an I. W. W. delegate, Johannsen was appointed as

United States Mediator of Munition Strikes by the Department of Labor, of which Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson is the head.

This appointment would seem almost incredible were it not one of a number of similar things that have happened and in this connection it is well to remember that William B. Wilson was Secretary of the United Mine Workers, is known throughout the anthracite coal regions as a good anarchist and was locked up with his pals by the sheriff at Frostburg, Maryland, for the good of the community. One of the appointees of Secretary of Labor Wilson was Frank P. Walsh who was one of the packed Colorado strike commission and Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations. He was also appointed with Chairman Taft to look after the war labor problems. The recent trial of the socialist Victor L. Berger and his associates has developed the fact that Berger advocated force against the government and that these socialists were what many people would be inclined to call anarchists in thin disguise. We find Frank P. Walsh as a friend of these men and appointed by them as one of a committee to use his influence at Washington in their favor. We further find him as a friend of Alexander Berkman, the notorious anarchist and disloyalist, to whom Berkman appeals to use his influence to help the murderers and disloyalists Mooney and Billings and offers to let him control their defense. Berkman writes him "We are in desperate straits out here. Five human beings are going to hang unless we can do something different from what we have done in the past. There is nobody in the San Francisco bar who can understand this situation himself, let alone explain it in the foul atmosphere of a court. I have to join with the boys in jail in saying that I see no way on earth to save their lives except Frank P.

Walsh. I asked McNutt (the murderers' counsel) to wire you because I wanted you to see that there will be none of the petty confusion of quarrels among counsel, if you come. I now assure you that any controversy will be settled as you see fit. McNutt would have to go if he could not get along with you. With you promised to us, we could, I suppose get more delay. I could sleep better tonight if I thought you would come". In response to that appeal we find George P. West, U. S. investigator under Walsh, an old supporter of the McNamaras and other reds, and whose articles in Fremont Older's paper deceived the public about the Times Building dynamiting, sent out to California to help the Mooney gang at the cost of the United States. We find from Berkman's private correspondence that he paid West \$300 with a statement that West's name was not to be made known as the recipient of the money. We find a letter from West to the anarchist Berkman, who was convicted of attempting to murder H. C. Frick, stating that, when he went to the Pacific Coast as a so called investigator, labor men were opposed to Mooney and believed that he should hang for his crimes and thought him certainly guilty, but that he, West, had set about changing their views and had been more or less successful. From the same letter we learn that anarchist Berkman was to have an advance copy of West's official report which was to be issued just before the Mooney trial at the proper dramatic moment to have a maximum effect on public sentiment, jurors and witnesses, and then we find it published by the Industrial Relations Committee as an official document of the United States, thus making our government appear as a supporter of the anarchists and disloyalists who were plotting against it.

Looking further on we find a Mediation Commission sent out ostensibly to make an investigation of the Mooney case under the auspices of

President Wilson. It is well to note here that President Wilson asked the Governor of Utah for leniency in the case of the atrocious murderer Hillstrom (a request most properly refused) and that he did this at the request of the anarchist and murderer Thomas J. Mooney and further it is well to note that President Wilson pardoned the dynamiter Ryan, with whom Johannsen was associated, and then asked for clemency for Mooney. This Mediation Commission made a glaringly untruthful report which was evidently intended to whitewash Mooney. It did not go near the District Attorney or the witnesses for the prosecution, but associated with the reds and their counsel. The report I am informed was written by G. S. Arnold, son-in-law of ex-Congressman William Kent of California. Kent contributed \$500 to the Haywood defense fund, is very close to the I. W. W. and has been endeavoring to help arrested I. W. Ws. to escape the penalty of their crimes. He holds a federal position. Arnold has now been sent to San Francisco by Secretary of Labor Wilson to supersede a man who, I am told, was a careful and conscientious investigator. In a letter to a New York lawyer he assures him he will use his influence with the Department of Justice to help the head of the I. W. Ws. under indictment at Sacramento for arson and other crimes, to escape the "humiliation of a trial."

After District Attorney Fickert had shown himself to be a fearless prosecutor who stood out against all threats and cajolery and had refused to play into the hands of the anarchists, John B. Densmore was sent out by his uncle Secretary of Labor Wilson apparently for the purpose of playing the anarchists' game. Densmore was in former years a supporter of the McNamara murderers and agitator on their behalf. His relations with various reds were close. He went out at the expense of the United States and is

said to have had in his employ some thirty detectives, including some of the men employed by the friends of anarchist Mooney. Densmore himself had been associated with the Mooney defense, but the people were supposed to swallow his so called investigation as an impartial affair. He and his gang tapped the wires between the District Attorney's office and the U. S. Naval Intelligence office, the Army Intelligence office and U. S. Marshal's office and stole various documents and gave the information so obtained to reds and disloyalists who were subjects of investigation and prosecution by United States and state authorities. Then choosing a Hearst paper, The Call, edited by an anarchist named Fremont Older, who is a friend of the reds and had publicly entertained Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, he published a scurrilous attack upon District Attorney Fickert and tried to bolster this up by stating that certain people were authority for certain statements. Some of these people have appeared before the grand jury and stated that they never made the statements Densmore attributed to them. Then after Densmore was subpoenaed as a witness in the United States Court and was wanted by the grand jury, he fled the state and in spite of all efforts on the part of the Governor and the District Attorney to get him back, he is still a fugitive from justice in California, yet Secretary of Labor Wilson puts this nephew of his forward to represent the people of the United States! A witness before the grand jury testified that Fremont Older, an anarchist and supporter of Mooney and other reds, had sent a representative to the witness to say that, if District Attorney Fickert would join the Sinn Feiner Judge Griffin in asking for a new trial for Mooney, the scurrilous Densmore report would not be made public but otherwise they would continue after District Attorney Fickert until they "got" him.

When a follower of Mooney in a labor council recently urged a revolution, nothing was done by the U. S. authorities.

An anarchist named Robert Minor who had been editor of two anarchist publications, *The Masses* and *The Blast*, and contributed to two others, *The Appeal to Reason* and the I. W. W.'s *Solidarity*, who was an associate of Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Johannsen, Nolan and other reds, who had testified under oath that he wished to overthrow our government and in writing and public speeches advocated violence to overthrow our government and institutions and who was the author of much inflammatory and infamously untruthful literature that did a great deal to incite the Bolsheviks in Russia against the United States, was denied a passport by the State Department upon the recommendation of the agents of the Department of Justice and others, yet the mysterious powers working at Washington to please our reds and Bolsheviks, in spite of the facts having been called to the attention of the Washington authorities, succeeded in having Minor sent to Russia as a representative of George Creel's. To be sure he might be considered a fitting representative of Creel who, as publisher of a Hearst paper in Denver, was exactly the sort of a professional disloyalist that Hearst and the reds delight in, but Minor is called a representative of the United States.

On November 12th reds marching in New York in the interest of the murderer and disloyalist Mooney were carrying red flags over Old Glory. This was more than some of our loyal boys who had returned from across the water could stand and they broke up the parade and handled one of these anarchists, J. Edward Morgan, so roughly that he did not recover for fifteen minutes and then went to the hospital. This J. Edward Morgan is the same man who was arrested out in California and there was then

found in his possession a letter from Secretary Tumulty authorizing him to travel round the country as a propagandist and collector of funds for Mooney. Fortunately our loyal soldiers and sailors did not agree with Secretary Tumulty, but supported our free institutions against the reds so effectively that even Hearst's friend Mayor Hylan was forced to see the daylight and it is forbidden to carry red flags in New York processions.

When Miss Theodora Pollock, the leader of the I. W. W. on the Pacific Coast, was arrested with other I. W. W. charged with many crimes, a letter of hers was found in which she states that George Creel assured her that Frank P. Walsh was in sympathy with the I. W. W. We find ex-Congressman Kent, holder of a federal position, exercising his influence to shield Miss Pollock and I have been informed, by an authority whom I have always found reliable, that some of the evidence in Miss Pollock's case had been suppressed.

We find Governor Stephens of California making a vigorous protest by wire to Washington against what he believes to be the manifest intention of the federal authorities to get rid of the I. W. W. cases without further prosecution if possible and we find citizens in the vicinity of Sacramento threatening to take the law into their own hands because they believed that the federal authorities were playing politics and would release the I. W. W. criminals for political reasons.

We find Lieutenant Commander Van Antwerp of the Naval Intelligence Office asking permission to investigate the disloyal aspects of the Mooney case and the explosions at Mare Island Navy Yard caused by certain criminals. As a result he was ordered to Washington and there given to understand that he was to keep his hands off, while the Department of Labor, already mixed up in many ways with the reds, is permitted to do what it calls investigating and re-

port in its own way. Lieutenant Commander Van Antwerp resigned.

We find Simon Lubin of Sacramento, California, the head of the Immigration and Housing Commission, boasting that he was the direct representative of the President and putting on the Commission such notorious I. W. Ws. as Frederick Esmond, J. Vance Thompson and James McGowan and then, when crimes of arson were committed by I. W. Ws. against the Redwood Lumber Company, in an effort to destroy war material, and at other places, we find these I. W. Ws. sent to make the farce of an investigation. The I. W. Ws.. referred to Lubin as "our trusted friend". He, I am told, has been one of the men active in the suppression of I. W. W. prosecutions. He sent a telegram stating that he personally interviewed the President on Mooney's behalf.

We find that Judge Franklin Griffin, trial judge in the Mooney case, even while running for office, took part in a union labor demonstration against a candidate for another office. During the trial he was very friendly with Bourke Cockran, the Tammany orator and counsel for Mooney. Immediately after the trial he made a speech in which he publicly admitted that he was a Sinn Feiner and considered Sir Roger Casement one of the great men of the war. After this, when the radical element among union labor men (in opposition to much of the conservative element who believe that Mooney should hang) started agitation for a new trial, we find Judge Griffin advocating a new trial for Mooney and expressing doubt as to the credibility of some of the witnesses and this in spite of the fact that the evidence was so overwhelming that the jury, on which there were two union labor men, convicted Mooney on the first ballot and that the foreman of the jury, William R. MacNevin, stated on the day of the verdict and before the political agitation about the witnesses,

that "the jurors felt that the structure of the evidence produced by the prosecution was so strong that they could not conscientiously follow their oaths as jurors and recommend life imprisonment. You ask me if it was the evidence of Frank C. Oxman, the chief witness of the prosecution, that convinced the jurors of the guilt of Mooney. It was not this alone. It was the whole case that convinced us. We felt that the volume of evidence introduced was overwhelming, and that we had no alternative but to agree on a verdict of guilt."

"John McDonald, the waiter, impressed us by his testimony. So did Mrs. Edeau and her daughter, the Oakland dressmaker. We felt that all these people could not be mistaken in their identification of Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Warren K. Billings and the man with the scraggly mustache as the persons they saw in the jitney of Israel Weinberg just before the explosion at Steuart and Market Streets. One of these might be mistaken, but all of them couldn't be." The letter written by Judge Griffin to the Governor was regarded by the latter as a political contribution rather than a judicial one and he did not permit it to influence his decision. The whole matter was thrashed out again before the supreme court of the state and the questions of the credibility of the witnesses and everything that the defense could think of was injected into the case. After a careful review of the case the supreme court decided that Mooney had been justly and properly convicted. One paragraph from the decision is "From the record before us it appears that the defendant was confronted by testimony from many sources which fully supports the verdict found by the jury. He was defended with great ability in the Superior Court and he was similarly represented in this court. We cannot find that he was deprived of any right, Statutory or Constitutional, or that any material error of law was committed calling

for a reversal of the judgment or an abrogation of the order denying his motion for a new trial."

Mooney's friends from the first stated that they would not rely on a court of justice for his acquittal and at once started a propaganda in his defense long before the trial, sending threatening letters to the District Attorney and, after the jury was drawn, to the jurors and later to witnesses.

There are in this country many papers published solely for the purpose of agitating for the overthrow of our government and our civil and religious institutions. There is a get together movement among reds and bolsheviki of all shades. It is thought that the American Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. are constantly at war, but we find the red element in the former fraternizing with the latter and at times members of both organizations, as was Mooney. We find officials of our government playing into the hands of the radicals and apparently at times much more anxious to serve them than to serve their country. We find a campaign of ruthless mendacity being carried on to deceive and influence people whose motives are patriotic and respectable. We find thousands of men traveling round the country, living on what contributions they can get from their dupes, and preaching anarchy and bolshevism, and last, but by no means least, we find the public with little real appreciation of what is going on, unaroused and, as usual, waiting until the worst has happened before taking action.

Is it not our duty to our country to make this situation known to everyone and to arouse the public as fully as possible? Should we not preach about it incessantly and get others to do likewise and strive to influence, not only those who agree with us, but also those who, through apathy or partisan feeling, are disinclined to acknowledge this condition and recognize the truth?

F. R. WELSH.

Mooney, Thomas J
(d. 1942)